UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

A Plea for Freedom in Teaching - - - - - *Frank S. Harwood*

The Hour of Conflict - *Hans H. Baasch*

Little Glimpses of American Life - - - - *John Haynes Holmes*

The Foreign Fight for Peace - - - - - *William C. Allen*

Travel Letters—*VIII* - *Alson H. Robinson*

The Study Table

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

A Message to the Churches On the Suppression of Freedom*

The present denial of freedom and the resort to violence over wide areas of the earth, and the threatening signs of trends in this direction even in our own country, lead the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to address a message to the churches, directing their attention to the crucial nature of the issue before the nation, and urging a united stand in support of the ideals of liberty which lie at the heart of our American commonwealth and for which also the churches have stood from the foundation of the republic.

In Europe, civil liberties are threatened from opposite directions. There is a Communist challenge on the one hand and a Fascist challenge on the other. Both rely on coercion instead of enlightening discussion and free persuasion. However much they may differ in other respects, Communism and Fascism have been alike in suppressing political freedom and in turning to force for a solution of social problems.

Against such dangers we must be on our guard, and no groups more so than the churches. In Russia Communism deliberately sets out to destroy the Church and to eradicate religious belief. In Germany a Fascist State attempts to coerce the Church into supporting policies which are contrary to fundamental teachings of Christ. Our opposition, as Christians, however, to the denial of freedom rests not only upon the danger to the Church and other minority groups, but upon the conviction that the substitution of coercion for freedom is a direct challenge to our Christian faith in the value of human beings as the creation of God.

In our own country there is disquieting evidence of influences moving toward a similar denial of freedom and a temper of violence. The menace of Communism to both religious and civil liberty has been frequently and rightly pointed out. Not enough attention, however, has been given to the more imminent danger of repressive tendencies of

*Adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

(*Continued on page* 199)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXVII MONDAY, JULY 20, 1936 No. 10

HE WHOM A DREAM HATH POSSESSED

He whom a dream hath possessed knoweth no more of doubting,
For mist and the blowing of winds and the mouthing of words he scorns;
Not the sinuous speech of schools he hears, but a knightly shouting,
And never comes darkness down, yet he greeteth a million morns.

He whom a dream hath possessed knoweth no more of roaming;
All roads and the flowing of waves and the speediest flight he knows,
But wherever his feet are set, his soul is forever homing,
And going, he comes, and coming he heareth a call and goes.

He whom a dream hath possessed knoweth no more of sorrow,
At death and the dropping of leaves and the fading of sun he smiles,
For a dream remembers no past and scorns the desire of a morrow,
And a dream in a sea of doom sets surely the ultimate isles.

He whom a dream hath possessed treads the impalpable marches,
From the dust of the day's long road he leaps to a laughing star,
And the ruin of worlds that fall he views from eternal arches,
And rides God's battlefield in a flashing and golden car.

Shaemas O Sheel

THE CAMPAIGN

UNITY is a religious journal—not a political, least of all a partisan, paper. This does not mean that we exist apart from the world of public affairs, concerned only with theological speculations and metaphysical mysteries. On the contrary, we are interested in everything that touches the welfare of men and the progress of society. Like the old Roman poet, Terence, we can say, "Nothing that is human is alien to us!" But our interest is based on moral and spiritual considerations. What the Republican, or Democratic, or Socialist Parties do as parties, we do not care a rap. They no more concern us than the G. A. R., or the Elks, or the Federation of Women's Clubs. No organization, however, whether political, social or cultural, exists in a vacuum. It is a part of the nation's and the world's life. It resides within the cosmos, and thus is involved in principles of ethics as in laws of physics. In a hundred ways, the action of these organizations, as of individuals, raises questions of good and bad, right and wrong, life and death. Is what they do lifting men or degrading them, freeing them or enslaving them? These are challenges to the spirit—and thus the immediate concern of UNITY as a religious journal in the larger and truer sense of the word. It is in this sense, from this point of view, that UNITY will comment frankly, fully, and we hope always fairly, on the presidential campaign. Identified with no party, we shall test the candidates, platforms, and procedures of all parties by the moral law as laid down by the teachings of our religion and by the American ideal as laid down by the sacred principles of our democracy. Our judgments, if not always sound, will be honest; our opinions, if not always acceptable, will be dictated by what we sincerely believe to be "true and righteous altogether." The editor, as an individual, has his own party and ticket, of course, but, so far from trying to impose these upon the UNITY family, we shall subject them to the same free criticism that we offer to others. In all this campaign struggle, much of which will be unseemly, there will be trends of enlightenment and progress for mankind. We shall try to find and emphasize these.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THIS CAMPAIGN

There are now seven parties in this presidential campaign—with an excellent prospect of one and perhaps two more, and with at least two parties of local organization and influence giving their support to national groups. The political battle is in reality a duel, of course, between the two old parties, the Democratic as headed by the President and the Republican as headed by Governor Landon. Outside this main ring, as more or less entertaining sideshows, are the Socialist Party which, owing to the tragic split in its ranks, will probably poll the smallest vote since Mr. Benson in 1916—the Communist Party, which may for the first time top in its total vote the Socialist total vote—the Socialist Labor Party, a brave but insignificant group of irreconcilables—the Prohibition Party, remaining steadfast to old days in preparation for new days—and the Union Party, headed by Lemke and O'Brien, which promises to be the "mystery man" of the campaign. The two parties of local character are, of

course, the La Follette group in Wisconsin and the Farmer-Labor group of Minnesota and the Northwest. This multiplicity of political parties might suggest the kind of picture we used to see in Germany and Italy and now see in France, were it not for the overshadowing importance of the Republican and Democratic Parties. This country still remains a two-party affair, as is shown by the legal difficulties in many states of getting a third or minority party on the official ballot. Just for this reason do we count it a tragedy of the first order that the liberal and radical portion of the electorate should be so hopelessly split up into this large number of mutually insignificant and even ridiculous groups. Is there no possibility of achieving here what was achieved in France in the "United Front" which swept Blum and his Socialists into office? Are we never to have a real third party which will combine all these progressive groups from left to right? Must the forward-looking non-partisan forever be doomed to "throwing his vote away" on a minority candidate of negligible importance, or else holding his nose and voting for the less objectionable of the old timers? So long as the present situation exists, we shall insist that the American people are politically incompetent.

THE RADIO AND PUBLIC SPEAKING

All commentators agree that the radio ruined the recent political conventions. Well planned not as public meetings, but as circuses, they were made unutterably boresome by the amplifying devices which cumbered the platforms. All real debate was, of course, ruled out, as the party managers could not allow any signs of dissent or even disagreement to go out to the listening millions throughout the nation. But more serious was the effect on the speaking—the ruin of oratory by harnessing it to the broadcasting mechanism. This is a phenomenon, now direfully dramatized, which has been long apparent to the sensitive listener. If present practice continues, there will be no more great oratory. In the hall where the speaker appears, he is immediately robbed of all attributes of personality—and personality is nine-tenths of speaking as of acting!—by being made a part of a machine. Imagine Bryan making his immortal "cross of gold" speech standing before a "mike!" At these recent conventions, good speakers as well as bad became mere robots, shorn of every last aspect of real vitality. On the far-flung spaces of the air, a worse calamity takes place, for here the speaker, already denied all freedom of spontaneous utterance, becomes nothing but a voice. If the voice chances to be pleasing in quality, as in the case of the President, an extremely ordinary speaker becomes suddenly a miracle man. But the true orator is hopeless, as witness the plight of a man like Senator Borah, since those very attributes of personal presence and power which make him an orator cannot be carried on the air. Hence, neither at the home base nor in the outfield is there anything but disaster so far as this radio business is concerned. We see no solution of the problem but the frank recognition of the fact that public speaking is one thing and broadcasting is another. On this basis, we shall have again great public meetings where orators, unencumbered by machinery, stir multitudes to ecstasy. And then, when we want to reach the millions wholesale, we will place the speaker where he belongs, in a studio, and there let him read his little piece.

A WORLD NEWS BEAT!

The New York *Times* secured a "world beat" the other day, and therewith registered one of the great achievements of modern journalism. Ordinarily a "world beat," so-called, has to do with some event of sensational but purely ephemeral importance. The *Times* itself secured such a "beat" some months ago when, alone of all American newspapers, it announced the departure of the Lindberghs from these shores for England. A more usual form of "beat" is the publication of the life-story of some particularly brutal murderer, or the announcement of the outcome of a prize fight or other athletic event a half hour or even ten minutes before some rival rag, or the Walter Winchell type of gossip about marriages, divorces, and illicit love affairs. But the *Times* "beat" was something different. It was the publication in full of the new constitution of Soviet Russia, accompanied by an interpretative special dispatch from Moscow by its world-famous correspondent, Walter Duranty. This constitution, be it said, is destined in all probability to be one of the great historic documents of all time. It will unquestionably take rank, in our opinion, with the English Magna Charta and the Constitution of the United States. It marks as clearly and definitely a new era in human affairs as either one of these immortal codes of freedom. And here it is, in every article and item, occupying a full page spread in the New York *Times!* This constitution will be under vigorous public discussion in Russia until next November. It will undoubtedly be amended and corrected in certain details, as Mr. Duranty points out. As it reaches its complete form, UNITY will give a full account of its content and character, which mean the restoration of democratic liberty in Russia and progress for all mankind. Meanwhile we make this announcement that our readers may know where the Soviet constitution may be found (New York *Times,* June 26, page 10), and that, in our humble way, we may pay appropriate tribute to the world's greatest newspaper.

THE POPE AND THE MOVIES

If the Hollywood hucksters have been thinking that the revolt against indecency on the screen was over, and that happy days for the exploitation of vice and crime were here again, they have now got their

corrective from the Pope. The recent Encyclical puts the whole enormous weight of the Vatican solidly behind the Legion of Decency, consecrates the formidable organization to new and sustained activity, and extends its field of operation from America to the world. We count this all to the good, for there have been disquieting signs of late that the movie magnates were forgetting their vows to reform and backsliding to their native instincts for dirt. Suggestive titles, lascivious advertisements, lewd scenarios are all on the way again, in the hope, or perhaps expectation, that this moral uprising, like so many others of the kind, was a mere flash in the pan which was soon extinguished. But Hollywood knows not Rome if it has this idea! Instead of archbishops, it now has the Pope to face. The Encyclical, be it said, manifests all the wisdom characteristic of the original campaign for clean movies. Thus, it avoids altogether any suggestion of censorship. It asks for no law against theatres or studios. It proposes no official board of control or review. It would interfere not at all with the production or presentation of any picture, however bad. It simply announces that Catholics will preserve their dignity as intellectual and moral beings, their responsibility as parents, and their rights as citizens, by refusing to patronize pictures which are an offense to common decency and therefore a danger to the public weal. "Produce your filthy pictures," they say, "we won't patronize them!" This is the boycott in its purest and simplest form as an expression of liberty. It is the application to perfection of Gandhi's method of non-violent non-cooperation. No law, no policeman's club, no soldier's musket employed at all, but only the inalienable right of freemen to exercise their own judgment and act according to their own standards! The original reaction to the Legion of Decency campaign was all to the good. It was one of the healthiest examples of effective public sentiment that we have ever known. What was well begun is now well continued. The dirty movie will not worry us again for a long time.

MINORITY GROUPS AND PERSECUTED PEOPLES

We heard a Jewish rabbi criticized the other day because he did not do more for Negroes. The retort in this case was that Negroes are not doing much for Jews—an effective *tu quoque* which still gets us nowhere! This little spat raised in our minds the question as to how much and what kind of aid and comfort persecuted minorities give one another anyhow, and why such groups do not stand more closely together in a united front against the common enemy. For the same snobs and morons and cowards lay their cruel hands indiscriminately upon those who suffer social outlawry! We were in a southern city once to speak at a meeting held under Jewish auspices. The color line came up, and at our insistence was erased at considerable trouble, expense, and danger, with the result that just *one* Negro was in the audience. When we blamed the Negroes for deserting us, we were given the retort that the Jews in this city were no friends of the Negroes, so why should they be helped. Where the truth lay in this unhappy episode we do not know, but we *do* know that the Jews and Negroes here were all too much strangers to one another. Of course, in any true society, one minority group would be the first to stand by any other minority group in time of trouble. If it does not work this way, it may be because psychology tends to persuade the persecuted of any race or color that they have burdens heavy enough of their own to carry, without adding another's burden. This is understandable! But there rings in our ears the Pauline saying, "Bear ye one another's burdens!" Certainly one sufferer from discrimination and prejudice should know as nobody else can know how it feels to be a sufferer, and therefore be quick to serve and save. So do we hope that, in days like these, the outlawed may at least count on one another's comradeship, and never be moved by any self-protective instinct to join or seek shelter with the proud and powerful majority. Jews everywhere should clasp hands with Negroes, and Negroes with Jews, and both with Catholics, and Communists, and any others who writhe beneath the iron heel of misunderstanding and oppression. The brotherhood of suffering must be the first step toward universal brotherhood.

PERSECUTED FOR ORTHODOXY'S SAKE

UNITY desires once again to call attention to the case of Dr. Gresham Machen and the Presbyterian Church, in fidelity to its own basic principles of toleration and liberty. This case is a clear case of persecution, but persecution directed in reverse, so to speak, for its object is guilty not of heresy but of orthodoxy. Ordinarily, of course, in a case of this kind, we have an individual, or group of individuals, growing liberal, and the church remaining steadfast to "the faith once delivered to the saints." In this instance, however, we have a church growing liberal, and the individual remaining orthodox. But the result seems to be the same—denial to the individual of any right of free opinion and the visiting upon him of every disability and indignity permitted under the law and custom of our day. Dr. Machen, let us remind ourselves, is a super-Fundamentalist. He believes in Calvinism as Calvin taught it, and, incidentally being one of the great Biblical and theological scholars of the present day, he speaks with authority on all questions of history and creed. The Presbyterian Church, however, has in recent years become progressively tainted with modernism. Dr. Machen has protested and denounced, and to the vast embarrassment of his opponents has in-

variably had the facts on his side, for the Westminster Confession, after all, is what it is. Resigning his distinguished professorial chair at Princeton in fidelity to his convictions, Dr. Machen organized his own divinity school, and gathered around it a formidable group of orthodox dissenters. Whereupon persecution began! On one technical charge after another, Dr. Machen was indicted, at last tried—a fine old-fashioned heresy trial in every sense of the word! and at last driven from his Church. Now he is organizing his own Church, a true Presbyterian Church, as he sees it, and is being vilified with every slander that good Christians know so well how to visit upon those who refuse to conform, and of course attacked with every resource of the law. It is a miserable affair, which has not become sensational only because Dr. Machen is not a liberal. From this point of view we regard it as a shame and a disgrace that religious liberals have failed to see the issue of liberty involved in this case, and to their own infinite discredit have remained silent. We have as little sympathy with Dr. Machen's theology as with John Calvin's, but we believe that he has the same right to his opinion and the free exercise thereof as any other Christian.

A Plea for Freedom in Teaching

FRANK S. HARWOOD

Among the various types of teachers I have known was one who, in a conversation about the ever-recurring social problems, referred to himself as "an amused onlooker." I did not give the expression a mental welcome when he used it, and I am not convinced that it represented his real self. But even if he was a cynical bystander in the full meaning of the words the very presence of cynicism in him was an evidence that he knew a great deal of what was wrong with the world. At least we find one redeeming feature in this teacher: he was not one of your easy optimists with a fair measure of personal security making him practically blind to the terrifying and hardening and deadening effect of economic insecurity on others.

I have known a very different type of teacher, so conscientious, so thorough that not a small fraction of the required work was omitted, and measurements of the accomplishments of the pupils were made with exacting precision. This teacher sometimes almost despaired of getting the pupils up to the standard set for them, but there was an absence of any turbulent dissatisfaction with the world of which these pupils were fast becoming a part. Along with all the excellent arrangement and performance of work, I think that even a sarcastic remark from the lips of this instructor now and then about some of the tyrannies of life would have been a sweet relief.

As a teacher myself I know very well that by far the greater majority of my pupils will spend their lives in tasks which will not make it necessary or possible for them to keep fresh in mind most of the material we use so diligently in school. A few of them will add to their information about history, for example, as they engage in professions, but most of them will have to seek commonplace jobs which will not encourage them to go on in what they begin under my leadership. So I cannot be content with the fellowship of the second type of teacher, the teacher whose sense of accomplishment comes from making them get the material. Oh, we have to get the material, but we must see through it, we must even break through it if necessary in order not to be smothered under it. I would therefore sometimes welcome what might almost be called an outburst in the classroom to prove that we are not chiefly following a course of study, but are fully alive.

There are two conditions in present-day life which occupy positions inferior to none among the major difficulties faced by intelligently altruistic people, namely, the entrenchment of the war habit in international relations, and the enthronement of autocracy in our economic system. More is being said about ending the former than the latter, yet I fear we shall never approach the extinction of the former while we suffer the latter.

One of my best friends was crushed by the loss of his two sons in the World War, his only consolation being that they had died to end war and to make the world safe for democracy. Now in his old age his sense of loss is still acute, and, what is worse, the consolation is gone! So far as those ideals are concerned, they apparently died in vain. Each school-day I face seventy-five high school boys in my classes, besides an equal number of girls. Should another great clash of nations occur in Europe, and we through our economic entanglements be again drawn into it, what about my seventy-five boys? One, because of a nervous ailment, would be left to propagate the race, but nearly all the others would have to face the danger of horrible destruction. With so devastating a biological cost accompanying the prosecution of internecine strife, he must be a lifeless being indeed who can go on with his pedagogical mummery devoid of an overmastering opinion on this subject!

There are certain angles to the matter of war which may be dismissed by its advocates as superficial, but their inconsistencies hopelessly ensnarl an honest mind in the attempt to justify military conflict. You may have heard the fellow's remark who said he killed seven Germans in war and received a medal for it, but his friend killed one German after the war and got life imprisonment. Evidently there is a difference between killing Germans during the open season and during the closed season! Again, a whole continent welcomes the Hindenburg into a hangar which is used to house the Los Angeles taken from these Germans through war. Also, every radio listener yearned for the rescue of the three men buried in a Moose River mine, but had it been war the world's resources would have been devoted to smothering an army in trenches. A submarine is accidentally submerged and the feelings of the populace are harrowed with sympathy as every possible means is pressed into service in the attempt to bring the occupants to the surface alive, but let war break out and destroyers comb the sea to sink dozens of these submarines containing just such noble

young men. An unprejudiced mind in the classroom is forced to take note of and strongly denounce these relics of perverted thinking which persist as a menace to civilization. The time is fast approaching when we shall be obliged in calculating the financial cost of war to use astronomical terms, a fact that is somewhat encouraging for we may at last conclude we cannot afford the luxury. The biological waste of war being so irreparable, the moral inconsistencies so perverting, and the financial cost so incalculable, we teachers of such things must be marble statues surely enough if we can discuss them unmoved.

We were thrilled in 1918 by the clean sweep of political autocracy from the large nations of Europe. The toppling of kings from their thrones with a substitution therefor of democracy seemed to usher in the bright new day. Almost with one stroke the peoples of central and eastern Europe had come into their rightful places of power. Of course there has been a serious setback of democracy, and we know why. It must be admitted that the German people, for example, had not laid for their democratic state a firm foundation of tested experience; but, aside from all that, one of the main reasons why a man like Hitler could take the reins of control was because the economic autocrats were determined not to be overthrown, so they financed his election for their own protection. Since that time the workers' parties have been ruthlessly crushed.

Remember, too, that while the United States, Great Britain, and France, so-called victorious nations, are politically democratic they are still largely under an economic autocracy. We rightfully pride ourselves on the fact that no political leader can issue to us ballots containing only a space for *yes,* but we are yet at the mercy of the will and wishes and even whims of overlords in our economic existence. Hiring and firing, with few exceptions, are absolutely beyond the control of the worker throughout the politically democratic world. When laws are offered to ameliorate this condition they are delayed or annulled by appeal to some clause of our constitution which is interpreted for the protection of property rather than of life. Since the industries are owned by impersonal corporations unrelated to them, most workers feel no sense of partnership in what they do. There is no possibility of denying that generally speaking what we need for existence and pleasure is afforded us not primarily because we need it but because there is profit therein for the one who supplies us. The moment profit ends, suffering begins at the bottom of the social ladder in the form of discharged workers who have no reserve to fall back upon. To change this situation is one of the greatest challenges faced on earth today, and we shall not change it quickly, but change it we will or let us cease to think we have advanced so far beyond the feudal age. Then at least the worker could not be removed from his bit of land where he eked out some kind of a living in self-respect. Now the modern laborer is so utterly dependent on his industrial lord that he knows not the day nor the hour when his last chance to earn a living shall be cut off with no recourse but the humiliation of public relief. Had anyone ten years ago predicted what the state is now obliged to do for the relief of the unemployed, he would have been hustled off to an institution for the mentally defective.

All this brings seriously to our attention a way of management which forces millions into poverty while a few have their millions, a system which has permitted a few to utilize for their own enrichment the vast natural resources which properly belong to all so that one, perhaps, out of his superabundance endows medical research, another erects a chain of libraries across the land, another makes secure for all time a great university named for himself. But let it not be forgotten that of all this commendable philanthropy which warms the hearts of the donors none makes the slightest cure of our economic ills for they continue to multiply, none of these palliatives remotely approaches the substitution of democracy for autocracy in our work-a-day world. There is no greater problem than this, and if a teacher in our public schools, maybe on tenure, getting $1,500, $2,000, $2,500, $3,000, or $3,500 a year, working five days a week, free for self-improvement or recreation ten weeks each summer, knowing that he will be back on the job in September, can be complacent right in the thick of unemployment and poverty and insecurity it is positive proof that the virus of economic autocracy has entered his very soul, communicated to him no doubt from his infected masters of industry against whose tyranny he dares not broach a controversial word.

Our schools should be conducted by teachers who know enough and care enough, so that the pupils can gain much from these teachers personally. A few years ago I had the choice of buying certain books which I hoped would give me some information I greatly desired or of going back to take special courses under the leadership of masters of subjects I wanted. I shall never regret that I came under the influence and guidance of these outstanding leaders of thought. It was not enough to have an open mind—I wished assistance in following the right way to work out my understanding of history and contemporary civilization. We may not attain the eminence those men hold, but if we cannot in some measure be to our students what those men were to me it is a pity. A school in the highest sense will always be the interaction of the radiant intellectual personality of the teacher and the inquiring mind of the pupil. Such a relation is impossible if there does not exist the greatest possible freedom of thought and opinion on the part of both teacher and pupil.

Sincere students no doubt appreciate having the teacher say something on vital matters, for it counteracts to some extent the deluge of propaganda ceaselessly pouring into their minds from press and picture. He who has not made a survey of the kind of newspapers read in his community might be greatly surprised by what such an investigation would reveal. He would be fortunate if he did not find that most of the information was coming from tabloids, and radio, and movie news of similar character, and most of the inspiration from pulp magazines. Unless we help students form better reading habits through our positive leadership and opinion we are recreant to golden opportunity. To let go unchallenged the daily assertion in such papers that we must have two battleships to every one of the enemy is to forfeit the right to complain of the dire consequences which such a philosophy of life inevitably brings. If we are willing to let our pupils go on swallowing whole the pleas for liberty by some of the sinister influences which really want license to exploit us, then we must not groan when we are the victims.

Every instructor knows that interest is neces-

sary for learning. There is no better device for stimulating interest than the use of debate or controversial discussion. The reason for this is because everyone is wondering what opinion will be introduced next or what facts will be used in support of opinions expressed. Such situations are sometimes made and sometimes occur without plan. In a class of which I was once a member, the professor was checking the roll. When he called the name of an absentee, another student said, "He cannot be present today for last night he got a rib broken trying to break up a communist meeting." At once the teacher replied, "It served him right, for our constitution guarantees freedom of assembly." That was a controversial matter, but the incident furnished a spontaneous chance for a splendid discussion on civil liberties in general, and was a demonstration of academic freedom as well. However, even so legitimate a procedure as this would now call for an investigation if it occurred in New York State or Washington, D. C., and many other places in our nation because of the increasing political invasion of civil rights.

If, in order to learn, a student must be interested, it should be said with equal emphasis that, in order to teach, the teacher must be enthusiastic. It may be contended that enthusiasm in attacking certain prejudices about war and business will bring down on the teacher the wrath of the veterans and the Kiwanians. This is true, and it is well to use discretion in order to remain on the job to say something another day, but our danger is not so much saying more than we should but in saying too little. Perhaps the reason academic freedom is now being called into question is because our lack of enthusiastic aggressiveness has left the forces of reaction in control of our world. Who is in a better position to lead our young people into advanced social thought and action than we teachers? Are we so blind as not to see the wrath-stirring wrongs of our time or so cold as not to be thrilled by the remarkable progress already made toward cooperation in industry? Have some of us grown too old to dream of vastly improved conditions brought about through our efforts with the assistance of our students?

The Hour of Conflict

HANS H. BAASCH

There is tension within our national life today. Human relationships are being strained to the utmost, and sometimes we feel that all these relationships will break because the cord holding them together is wearing out.

This state of fear has undermined our faith in our own society and in its ability to withstand this tension, but despite this we know perfectly well that the heartstrings of our civilization are strong enough to withstand even the most critical hour of conflict.

We who are living now in the midst of this conflict are conscious of the fact that it befalls us to ease this tension. The conflict commands us to try to understand fully the factors which enter into the history of this situation.

A few months ago I heard a man classify our entire population into three distinct categories. His analysis was allied with historical and psychological factors which we cannot ignore if we are to rebuild our national, social, and economic relationships. The three categories were as follows: Christian, Democratic, and extremely Individualistic.

No one person can consistently be all three of these. He can, for convenience's sake, appear to be Christian and Democratic and still be Individualistic; but he cannot be consistently a Christian and Democratic and, for convenience's sake, be an Individualist.

It was the nature of every immigrant to be individualistic and his life in America strengthened this tendency.

By and large the immigrants were the children of the poor in Europe. They had been born in small, low rooms where it was always nip and tuck with poverty. There they were sent to work for the farmers on the big estates, and every day was long, joyless, and toilsome, with work far beyond their strength. In the evening they were sent over to the grocer after a bottle of brandy which was divided among the working crew.

The old country held in check individual economic desires and the urge for an adventurer's life; but the land of North America provided the opportunity through which their desires and urges could be released. Historically speaking, economic desires and the urge for adventure became the two motivating forces which made possible the colonization of North America.

Thus, in reality, two groups of people and two modes of life dictated the development of the social and economic structure of society in the United States. The adventurer who traveled the high seas and scaled the mountain peak did so to discover the forces which were akin to his searching nature and which could satisfy his urge for an adventurous life. This person was carefree, planless, and haphazard in all of his activities. The economic-minded person was just the opposite, planning and calculating his action on every turn, but only in terms of selfish advantages. He was quite willing to sacrifice both social and cultural, historical and spiritual values in order to attain the one thing—"Economic Control." This man was the person who took pride in telling his neighbor that what he did "was none of your business." He felt no obligations toward his fellowmen; he was ruthless in his dealings with them as well as with the sources from which he made his existence.

Realizing that these two distinct types of persons have been the power behind the development of the United States, we can readily understand that there was no planned relationship between man's desire on the one side and the natural resources on the other. The natural resources were here, and, according to the prevailing idea, the only issue was to convert these raw materials into useful products; there would be no end to the need for

them. Thus, during the period of our agricultural and industrial expansion, little thought was given to the consumer and still less to conservation of natural resources.

The time has come when we, the people, must correct our national plans of waste. In fact, this man-made waste resembles the fire which preceded the pioneers when they first made their claim to this new continent. We all remember the tragic stories about the early settlers and their struggle against forest and prairie fires. Whenever fire took hold of the prairie grass or the wild forest it was consistent in its demand; it spared neither the home of the prairie settler nor the home of the forest dweller. Together with large trees and prairie grass, man's work was reduced to ashes. The pioneers often lost everything they had and were forced to recreate whatever the fire destroyed, but in their case there still existed opportunities to regain their losses.

Yesterday, people lost their homes, as did the pioneers, not by fire, but because of a system which had supported the strong individualist so long that there was no room any more for any but the most fit; and yesterday it was impossible for these people to find any opportunities for a new beginning. They had nowhere to go; they were worse off than the pioneer family after a prairie fire.

We have had several warnings that the individualistic point of view was a constantly growing danger to society. We have had one depression after another, depressions from which society has recovered in various ways. The remedy which we applied to the depression of 1921 should have shown us that we were skating on very thin ice indeed. We subjected ourselves to the system of installment buying; it tempted us to buy more than we could afford and increased our hunger for luxuries.

This plan served our immediate social and business needs in two distinct, yet closely related, ways. First, it created a large volume of business which in turn enhanced speculative opportunities, and thus caused an artificial sales boom. Second, it created jobs with a gradually rising wage scale. In a social and economic sense the country at large moved on toward what seemed to be better times. A spendthrift spirit swept the land. As we continued to live beyond our means we were actually gambling with our future, and most of us were destined to lose.

Then came the collapse. People began to lose their grip on their jobs, their future security, their homes and farms. This situation caught every man short of his immediate resources, and he began, as in earlier depressions, to recall his reserves in order to meet the crisis. But his reserves were for the most part so entangled in the speculative system that he could not release them in time to save his property, and thus the whole system fell to pieces.

He had nowhere to turn because the plan created to defeat our 1921 depression did not touch upon human relationship. We did talk a lot about trusting one another, but, as for making a change in our attitude, we simply did not change.

After 1929 we were not able to devise any schemes which could save the situation. The hard times stayed with us, in fact, they are still with us, because we must by necessity change our attitude as social beings in our community before any improvement can take place. We are beginning to realize that the change we must make is not one of adjusting our commercial channels so that they will function again, but that the change which we must and will have to make is of a social nature; and it is very hopeful for us that we have actually begun to realize that it is our human relationships and our individual life attitude which must change.

Our government pointed out the way when it enacted the Social Security Act. For the first time in the history of our people did the representatives ask their constituency to think in social and cooperative terms. In the main, the Social Security Act is the medium whereby we are going to learn, without knowing that we are learning, to become socially conscious. Before we know it, we shall experience something like the surprised joy of a child who discovers that he can walk by himself; but *we* shall learn to be dependent rather than independent.

In the same way that the Social Security Act is becoming part of our social and economic life, so is the Resettlement Program becoming a permanent part of our national life. Programs sponsored by the Resettlement Administration are planned in a social and a human way. The government and the people are working together to safeguard and perfect a plan whereby our natural resources shall not be destroyed or wasted, and at the same time they are making it possible for the individual to enjoy the fruit of his own labors. In brief, the purpose of this program is to help the socially and economically defeated people to find their natural place in society again. It is up to the Resettlement Administration to safeguard the opportunities which will be given to these people. After they have got a new start they will continue the opportunity, not as isolated individuals but as integral and social members of their communities.

It is only natural that such a plan should be received with opposition and adverse criticism from people who have managed to hold on to their possessions, or even to increase them during the last hard years. They see that their principles are being challenged by social planning, and this program will find it very hard to defend itself just because it is new. It has to test its way. There are no established facts of experience in relation to what it will attempt to achieve.

The first criticism hurled at this program is that it is "un-American," that it is a branch of communism, socialism, anarchism, or any other political creed which can be related to some foreign country. But it is absurd to condemn a program by a label instead of testing it in relation to our social, economic, historical, and cultural background. We must learn that the social relationship to our natural resources has reached a state where by necessity we must inaugurate another period of pioneering. We have come through the pioneering in our natural resources out of which we created the largest and most extensive industry of technology man has ever witnessed. During that period, human values and living have never been the primary question. It was first and foremost the question of progress in regard to technology; science, material forces, first; human values, second. This

whole development is the natural result of pioneer reasoning.

In his great book, *Giants in the Earth,* Rölvaag portrayed that philosophy. He gave us a picture of the land hunger which drove Per Hansa to the point of forgetting that his wife Beret and her happiness were worth more than all the land he could acquire. His failure to realize human values was expensive. Beret went insane.

That which happened between Per Hansa and Beret may happen to us as a people. When we neglect to realize the human value above all other rights, we in America, like certain nations of Europe, will go insane.

The Social Security Act is rapidly being accepted on a nation-wide scale, and the Resettlement Program is following closely behind it. People are beginning to realize that the Resettlement Program in many ways is offering to our rural population what the Social Security Act is offering to our city workers. The planning done is not mainly to alleviate the distressed farmer, although that is the immediate need. This point may, however, have been over-emphasized, although, of course, it does justify the comment that many destitute families are now living in a home which they can call their own, and are given an opportunity to earn their own living. But the public, by and large, is not always responsive to sentimental approaches to human problems, and in the case of the Resettlement Program there are other issues, just as important, which are of interest to all citizens because the program will benefit the country as a whole.

The center of the program is one which will, without fail, demonstrate on a national scale the advantages of social and economic planning in regard to our human resources as well as to our natural resources. The first task of the program is to release natural resources from the grip of the individual who at the expense of countless others dominates our national economy. His rule must be ended before a new economy can be effective. The sooner he learns to cooperate in remaking our social and economic system, the better it will be for him and the entire nation. The era of individual domain over our nation's resources has come to an end, and the primary reason for the Resettlement Administration is to make this change possible without social and economic violence, and thus demonstrate the government's right to command the nation's natural resources, against the individual's right to exploit them.

The second aim of the program is to demonstrate that it is possible to replace a worn-out economic order with one which will mean economic security to the greater part of our population, which heretofore has never had any kind of security, although there may have been steady employment. A national security program does not end with mere job security. It must go far beyond that stage. It must provide a social and economic security which embraces a guarantee against the many pitfalls of insecurity in the old system.

The third aim is to adjust the now maladjusted relationship of our natural resources to their natural uses. Land which never should have been put under a plow must be retired. Large areas of forest land must be returned to forest use. Our water streams must be controlled and put to use wherever needed.

The fourth aim is to assist now helpless people to become self-reliant and active participants in this new economic order. The want for family security was the motivating force which made possible colonization of the United States. The conception of security must be socialized, that is, it must be based on a national scale. We must enlarge the possibilities for a social order in which the human forces will be united with natural resources; only when a balance is created between the two can life security be extended to all.

Our now prevailing philosophy of family security must be socialized. In the early days of pioneering, as well as today, people were more interested in the economic returns of their labor, not so much from a selfish motive as from a desire to guarantee security for their families and to extend advantages to their children. The only answer to this struggle for security was economic independence for the individual family at the expense of society, and that answer gave no real economic security. The struggle for universal security must cause tension in society at large. The hour of conflict between old and new social principles is coming, and we must prepare to meet it with comprehension of its issues.

Illimitable Life

My country is the Universe,
  And all the ages mine.
Here, in the mortal, I rehearse
  My momentary line;
But I shall carol countless bars
In the innumerable stars.

The life eternal needs no proof
  That waits the hour of death.
Love is of an immortal woof,
  And thought is more than breath.
In every thread of time appears
The timeless pattern of the spheres.

Have we not paced our courses here
  From cave to Parthenon?
From tribal huddles, ringed with fear,
  And strife with Mammoths gone,
To wing the undivided air
Till Earth is ordered everywhere?

The ordered Earth our stepping-stone
  To new communions, then.
Till the remotest star shall own
  Its fellowship with men:
Illimitable life the road
To man's immeasurable abode.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Little Glimpses of American Life

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

In the summer time, it is my privilege to spend a goodly portion of my days in a small community on the Maine coast. The township is ancient as such things go here in America, its history running far back into the Colonial period of the seventeenth century. We have the site of an old timber port and stockade built for protection against the Indians, a river-mouth where was wrecked a British cruiser before the Revolution, a Lafayette elm, and mementoes of a visit of President Monroe. Old houses and magnificent elms dot the countryside. The population has never been large, the stock prevailingly English in origin with some Canadian admixture. Family names run back for generations, and are still attached to fine estates and appear on the church records. Typical New England is the word—with all that the phrase connotes of integrity, independence, and old tradition. There is shrewdness here, an eye to the main chance, Yankee thrift and thriving, but at bottom a great honesty and self-respect.

In such a town, I like to feel, is the true America. Certainly it is truer than anything to be found in the monstrous metropolis known as New York. That city is a great commercial port, a financial and business capital, a cosmopolitan center, a vast gathering place of tribes and clans and hordes, but it has little more to do with essential American life than Paris or Tokio. Nothing that is thought there or done there is characteristic of the American people. Everything is artificial, parochial, temporal. But here, in this New England township, are the natural and eternal qualities of a nation. This is America! Therefore what I observe here has the significance of what is typical and basic in the life of the land. So I keep my eyes open when I come to this place, and report herewith some little glimpses of big things.

I.

There is no poverty in K., just as there is no wealth. A general level of comfort and culture has its variations from the peaks of the well-to-do to the lowlands of the hard-pinched, but there is no poverty such as we know it in the great cities. The people are too close to the land, on the one hand, and to the sea on the other, to be stricken in any helpless want. The few dependents—aged, sick, unfortunate, ne'er-do-wells—are taken care of by the town without concealment and without shame. The burden is slight and is carried with dignity. Even during the depression, there has been no misery. Unemployment has not been in any way excessive and has caused no serious concern.

But of course K. had to go on relief, like every other community in the United States! The Washington administration came to this town, just as though its problems were identical with those of New York, for example, and to the vast indignation of the sober and independent citizens insisted upon finding the poor to be taken care of by funds from Washington. The money came pouring in, whether or no; and, human nature being what it is, there were those, even in this self-respecting town, who were ready to receive what the government was so eager to hand out—with the result of a growing taint of demoralization never known in this community before!

And if relief, why, of course, public works! The local politicians—same breed here as everywhere else in this country!—saw to that. If New York, and Boston, and Portsmouth, and Portland, had their public works, paid for by Washington, why not K.? So this town of a few thousand scattered inhabitants has done pretty well, thank you, in grabbing projects to which workers were drafted, almost without exception, from perfectly good private jobs, or from the planting and fishing habits of a lifetime.

Thus, there have been road improvements here, inside the township and out, costing hundreds of thousands of dollars, and as much needed as vermilion paint on a woman's finger-nails. On highways on which there is no especial traffic burden, and therefore no pressing exigencies of either speed or safety, the work has been pushed as though the demands of an empire were at stake.

The town has secured a new postoffice. The present postoffice is amply adequate for every imaginable service; the new postoffice will provide facilities which cannot be completely utilized in a hundred years. The present office is centrally located, right in the heart of the town, with a maximum of convenience for everybody; the new building is to be placed two blocks up the street, and outside the business area altogether. The present office is inexpensive in upkeep; the new building, relatively elaborate, will cost good money to maintain. But, of course, postoffices are being passed around by the administration, like toys at Christmastide, so K. had to have one, whether needed or not.

Most wonderful of all, the town now has a flying-field, all built, of course, with federal funds, to give work, forsooth, to farmers, fishers, and busy tradesmen. K. needed a flying-field about as much as Mrs. Dionne needed quintuplets. There is a flying-field some twenty miles south of us, and the official flying field for the Boston-Portland planes is some fifteen miles north. No plane, so far as I know, or can find out, has ever used our field, except that of the government inspectors on their rounds. But there it lies, unfinished as yet, and as a matter of fact probably never to be finished. But it has done its work and served its purpose—wasted nobody knows how much money, to prove that the administration loves the forgotten man, and wants his vote.

Yes, K. has done pretty well. Not as well as Passamaquoddy with its tide-harnessing project, but, under the circumstances, pretty well! Other towns, we have no doubt—thousands of them, from Maine to California—have done as well, or perhaps better. This public works business is a gorgeous racket, especially as administered not by local officials in the interest of the community, but by a government in Washington in the interest of a political party.

II.

Just beyond my home, at the very tip-end of a dead-end road, close by the sea and the river-mouth, is a little shack, rough but comfortable. It is inhabited by Mr. and Mrs. C., good people and pleasant neighbors. About the house is a stretch of lawn, on which reposes summer lounging chairs. In behind is an excellent vegetable garden. This worthy couple, in the early fifties of their age, do not seem to be doing anything, except to live happily and quietly in their little home. They used to run a restaurant up in the town. Mrs. C., on occasion in the old days, did housework for my wife. Mr. C. used to do some simple garden-

ing for the summer visitors, and still does. But, on the whole, they are either idle at home, or else are riding about in their automobile.

It was only the other day that I was complaining to my gardner that he was slow in getting my place tidied up.

"I'm doing it as fast as I can, Mr. Holmes," was his reply. "But I can't get any men. This is the rush season, you know, and everybody wants the flowers in. But all I've got to help me are Joe, and Charlie, and a few boys. If I had five good men, now, I could use them all. But everybody's busy, and you'll have to wait your turn."

I pondered this, and resolved to be patient. A little later, I heard an automobile coming down the road, and in due time saw Mr. C. drive by with his wife. "There's a man who isn't doing anything," I said to myself. "Why doesn't Mr. B hire him and put him on the job?"

I mentioned the matter to my wife at supper.

"Oh," she said, "Don't you know? Mr. C. and his wife are on relief!"

III.

The bonus came pouring into this town like a spring freshet. Eighty-five thousand (85,000) dollars were distributed in a few hours. An average of something like fifteen to twenty dollars a head! The veterans, including those who had never crossed the sea, and some who had been away from home only a few weeks, were delighted. But the chief hysteria seemed to be in the hearts of the storekeepers and the automobile dealers and the insurance agents, all in this town who had anything to sell. This was their chance —and, being good Yankees, they took it!

I understand that much the same thing happened everywhere. The New York papers ran stories about the preparations of the Broadway theatres and night clubs for unprecedented business, and for days these same papers ran reports of the increased sales in shops and stores of every description. All of which has set me thinking!

This bonus "grab" was not merely the work of the veterans. The Legion did not loot the government treasury alone; the thing was put over not so much perhaps by the ex-soldiers, whose lobby was in the forefront of the fray, as by the commercial interests, which were all the while lurking in the background. Who wanted the bonus? The Legion gangsters, of course! But also the automobile manufacturers and salesmen, the radio producers and distributors, the makers of electric refrigerators and gadgets innumerable, the real estate men, the builders and contractors, the tourist agencies, the vacation hotels and beaches, the moving pictures, the dance-halls, the liquor traffickers, the baseball and prize-fight magnates, etc., etc. A profit-making society saw a chance to make some easy money by getting this money from the government and placing it in the hands of those who would spend it. So—open up the treasury, boost prices, eat, drink, be merry, for tomorrow - - - !

Well, never mind about tomorrow. Sufficient unto the day, etc.! In this town, thank you, business has been good. The traders are glad. Everybody's happy. But, meanwhile, the net result is—*debt!* And debt never did anything but lead men to ruin and empires to decay. As for republics - - - !

IV

There was excitement in the neighboring township here the other day. A. B. had disappeared. At least, nobody could find him, and A. B. could always be found! Why, all day long he stood there in the square, mumbling to himself, or else was wandering aimlessly about the streets among the stores and shops. But now A. B. was nowhere to be seen.

A. B., you must know, is the village idiot. Every New England town has one, or did have one. I have known this poor fool ever since he was a boy. And now he is growing old! The hair bristling from his unshaven chin is white, and his mouth is beginning to slobber. Years ago A. B. was lively—and ribald! He was frequently embarrassing. But not so long ago he was struck and run over by an automobile, and lost a leg. The town saw him through the hospital and give him a wooden leg. Now he hobbles about on a cane, and is careful in crossing the street. A. B. is old.

Even as an idiot, A. B. has been pretty bad. His mind was so weak that he never learned to talk. Apparently he could not even fashion words, least of all remember them. So at twenty, and thirty, he babbled like a child of only a few months. He laughed at everything, or he used to—a wild, empty, eerie laugh. Now he is more sober, but just as silly. And all these years the town has cared scrupulously for this useless and pitiable piece of flesh. The good folks have given him clothing and food, and every year the town meeting has appropriated money for his care.

And now A. B. had disappeared. Where had he gone? We must find out! So a posse was organized and the hunt began. All day long these busy people went from street to street, from door to door. "Anybody seen poor A. B.?"—No—nobody had seen poor A. B.! By nightfall the village had been covered, but A. B. had not been found. Out beyond lay the farms and the pastures and the woods, and the long stretch of the shore. An old man, or a child, could be hidden away in these places for a week. Never mind, they must be covered, for A. B. was a poor fool, and the nights were still cold, and where could he get any food? So now a bigger force was organized, and a systematic search was begun. And late at night, in a stretch of thick woodland, the idiot was discovered, at last, jibbering with fear, more scared than glad of his pursuers. And the people laughed, and went home, and next day A. B. was mumbling and scuffling across the street just as though nothing at all had happened.

Good neighbors, these—even to an idiot! This is the good side of human nature. But suppose, now, a child had been lost, a little girl, and her body had been found bruised and broken and bloody in a field. And suppose the townsfolk had blamed some wayfarer tramping by, or some negro or foreigner whom nobody liked very well. Then there would have been another man-hunt, wouldn't there?—and, in this case, a very different kind. I don't know whether, in this country of sober, sure-footed, shrewd men and women the countryside would take fire or not. No lynching would be possible for a moment, but there might be a lot of excitement and vindictiveness. For suddenly, in this human nature of ours, the best turns to the worst —to reverse the phrase of Browning—and strange things happen. The mob-mind is a curious phenomenon. Any group of people anywhere can be aroused to beautiful, and also horrible, deeds. In this case of the town idiot, it was all touchingly beautiful. Why can't it be always so? When and how shall we learn to control and direct the public conscience, like the needle to the pole, to "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report?"

(*To be continued*)

The Foreign Fight for Peace

WILLIAM C. ALLEN

Here are a few straws that tell us how the baffled winds of peace are blowing:

At a foreign business conference the head of a great advertising firm made this guaranty: "Give me the price of one battleship and I will undertake in five years to advertise war off the face of the earth." The war people so far have had propaganda almost altogether their own way. Yet statistics show that even in the most militaristic counries there is real service on behalf of peace.

The 697 foreign organizations connected with the international movement include: Great Britain, 42; Albania, 2; Argentine, 7; Australia, 14; Austria, 25; Belgium, 24; Bermuda, 1; Bolivia, 1; Brazil, 4; Bulgaria, 12; Burma, 1; Canada, 17; Ceylon, 2; Chile, 7; China, 12; Costa Rica, 2; Cuba, 2; Czecho-Slovakia, 24; Denmark, 22; Dutch East Indies, 6; Egypt, 8; Estonia, 10; Finland, 15; France, 83; Germany, 9; Greece, 11; Holland, 60; Hungary, 15; Iceland, 5; India, 11; Iraq, 2; Ireland, 12; Italy, 11; Japan, 28; Latvia, 8; Lithuania, 4; Mexico, 3; New Zealand, 19; Norway, 16; Persia, 2; Philippine Islands, 4; Poland, 25; Rumania, 8; Russia, 2; Sweden, 28; Switzerland, 44; and so on. The list embraces many women's leagues and clubs, League of Nation unions, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s, fellowships, university and college student groups, etc. The influence of Rotary Clubs should not be minimized.

No less astonishing is the list of 162 books published during the year 1935, relating more or less to war and peace. Most of these were written and published in England. Many are definitely anti-war, or have primarily taken the Christian viewpoint. Armament and disarmament, dictatorship, economics and finances, international laws, the League of Nations, African, Far Eastern and other international troubles, besides the general subject of pacifism, are included in this impressive array of literature. Many of these books present legal, technical, and economic information not well adapted to the use of busy men and women, whose interest must be gained and who vote. More general effect has most likely been produced by the pamphlets and documents issued during the year. Leaflets galore have probably been the most telling. Nor should we underestimate the significance of the big, attractive peace posters seen all over England in front of Nonconformist places of worship, sometimes before those of the Anglican Church.

The fact that there has been an imperative demand for information as to the "traffic in death" is vitally important. Last year the English Royal Commission for Investigation of the Armament Business disclosed that England leads the world in export of arms and munitions. Czecho-Slovakia, in proportion to its population, does a huge business in death-dealing machinery. China, awakened from her pagan ways by Christian instruction in the deadly art of war, leads in imports. Revelations regarding these preparations and the hideous profits associated therewith have profoundly stirred public sentiment abroad. The concerns implicated have been put on the defensive.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is endeavoring to secure fifty million signatures to a petition demanding that all governments abolish war. Organized women's groups are a powerful factor for peace. Everywhere the women are demanding that a ban be put on aerial warfare. Preparing to destroy urban populations en masse—in ways savages cannot conceive of—does not appeal to the natural life-conserving instincts of women.

Last year the students of the British Columbia University, Canada, by a majority, voted to abolish the Canadian O. T. C. as being provocative of militarism. All over the world the young people are realizing that they are the victims of the stupid system of war. From France comes the news that 2,000 French school teachers have served notice that they will not encourage military propaganda or war. They are said to represent 80,000 educators.

Probably the most significant indication of an arousing detestation of preparation for war, despite jingoism, hatreds and fears, is found in the attitude of many Christian leaders, prominent laity and the fearless position assumed by editors of the more important periodicals in foreign lands. For example, while England is feverishly arming we find President Whale of Cheshunt College, Cambridge University, England, writing in the *Christian World*:

> We scorn all attempts to bring Christ's standards down to the level of our poor attainment, and all comforting suggestions that He really meant no more. The so-called "man in the street" knows what to think of such sophistry and the church always pays dearly for indulging in it. . . . I believe that Christianity is brass tacks—the only true realism left—and that you have to choose between Christ's way and ruin.

The people of New Zealand and Australia do not claim to be particularly pacific. Yet the Anglican Grammar School, Christchurch, and the Methodist Wesley College, Auckland, both in New Zealand, have discontinued military training. The President of a Methodist Conference has stated that the cessation in the college was attributed to "the extreme pacifist views within the Methodist Church." A prominent clergyman has said of Australia: "There is a distinct movement toward pacifism among several of the younger ministers in Australia, several of whom are returned soldiers, and chaplains."

Faithfulness to principles is one of the world's greatest needs. The eminent Professor Soddy refused an invitation from the British government to join in an organization for developing chemical warfare. He says:

> It is amazing to me how scientists are excluded from any key position in business affairs unless it is known in advance among scientists that they are people who can be relied on to bomb their own mothers and to get a decoration for it. . . . There is as great a horror of the perversion of science to warlike purposes as there is among the general public.

Canon Sheppard of St. Paul's Cathedral, an ardent pacifist, declared in an address in London: "If

there is one thing needed today by us it is moral courage, which men so often lack. We claim to be physically brave; but I do not think we are any more physically brave than women. Morally we are not up to their standard." Again, "war and Christianity are utterly and completely incompatible. When a Christian nation goes to war it has got to lie about itself, lie about its enemy and lie about God." This courageous official of the Anglican Church has been securing the following pledge from many tens of thousands of young men subject to conscription: "I renounce war, and never again, directly or indirectly, will I support or sanction another."

The Archbishop of Canterbury's invitation prior to Christmas, 1935, to Christian communions in Europe, to unite in an appeal to their members to assist in preserving peace, has received a remarkable response. It was found impossible to secure answers from the Evangelical Churches of Germany, or from the church in Russia. But the authorities of twelve national state churches in twelve European countries agreed to the proposal; also the Protestant churches in France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Ireland. Leaders of the established churches of Europe are now willing to endorse policies that are at variance with the plans of their governments.

There are young men in prison today who refuse military training in France, Switzerland, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Italy. Some are clergymen of the finest type. In South Africa a young conscientious objector was recently exempted because of his religious convictions—all honor to that government. When we consider the humiliations and sufferings to which these young men are subjected, we realize that there is hope for the future of the countries that punish them, they are the forerunners of the work of the Prince of Peace.

Travel Letters—VIII

ALSON H. ROBINSON

Rangoon, Burma. We have just turned the corner of the world. Not until day before yesterday had I realized that the earth had corners. To be sure, that phrase falls easily with a sort of literary license. After one has been traveling for weeks and months getting further away from home all the time he wonders if such language isn't something of a grim joke. But Singapore is unquestionably the corner, and after you turn it and head north and west, you become aware not only of a geographical but of a physical change as well. This poor old British boat isn't much to look at, although the Mohammedan sailors on the deck below who are constantly saying their prayers are picturesque. It's the sort of thing that would delight the heart of John Masefield or Joseph Conrad; but, slowly as she travels, she's headed in the right direction, and has turned the corner.

Roughly speaking, between Yokohama and Calcutta, let us say, there are three zones, geographical and racial: the Far East, the Tropics, and India. I am wholly aware that any such division as this is quite indefensible from any scientific point of view; but it forms a kind of classification into which my random and uncritical impressions seem to have a way of falling. Of course, one might use the word Orient and let it go at that. Then the question arises as to the distinction between the Orient and the Far East, or the Orient and the Tropics. If you follow along the line of the Tropic of Cancer, you will find yourself so far as China is concerned just north of Canton. That means that everything south of that is in the Tropics, which brings up the question as to where the Orient leaves off and the Tropics begin. Are the Celebes and Borneo and Macassar and Bali and Java and Sumatra Oriental? The answer, of course, depends upon whether you regard the word Oriental as a geographical or a racial term. If you think of it as referring to racial characteristics, and if the Chinese may be regarded as typical Orientals, then the Orient is a very large place.

We have had Chinese with us everywhere we have been. When we started out from San Francisco, they waited on us and took care of our rooms. This continued until we reached Manila, when for two or three links in the journey we found ourselves struggling to make our wants known to an equally passive entourage of Malays. When we got to Singapore, at least so far as the hotels were concerned, the Chinese popped up again; and it seemed like a letter from home to trot out one's Pidgin.

But now that we have turned the corner of the world it's different. There's a new chapter and there's a new color in this racial spectrum. First we had the yellow man, and he has certainly stayed with us. Then we had the brown man, and he stayed with us as long as it suited the economic interests of the Dutch to have him do so. Now it pleases the British to present to us servants of a deeper hue. There may be some question about the line of demarcation between the Orient and the Tropics, but there isn't any question where India begins. India begins at Singapore when you board the British-India *S.S. Khandella.*

I observe a difference in the relationship from that which obtains in America when one mentions the color line. Here, in addition to all the service of the ship being performed by Indians, at least one ship's officer is Indian, and there seems to be no distinction between him and the white officers at the dinner table. And all the quartermasters, the men who actually steer the ship, are Indian, too.

Now this place which has marked for us the turning of the corner, and to that extent brought us on the road to home, as well as to the road to Mandalay, is entitled to something more than casual mention. Singapore perhaps more than any other Eastern port occupies a position of strategic importance. This importance is a matter that has been recognized by the British, and that is the reason you will find the British flag flying over all of these key ports—Calcutta, Colombo, Rangoon, and Hong-Kong. They, the British, very nearly missed out on

Singapore. Singapore literally went begging until it fell under the eye of the redoubtable Sir Thomas Raffles, the gifted and indomitable British Empire Builder. He alone of all who had sailed the Malacca Straits had the vision to realize its incomparable setting. Over and again the various Sultans of Jahore, a petty kingdom of this southern tip of the peninsula, had offered the island of Singapore to likely buyers. No one was interested. Raffles kept at it. He made himself one of the most unpopular men in England in the early part of the last century. Eventually the island was ceded in perpetuity to the British crown. Now the name of Raffles is one to conjure with. There is a Raffles Square, a Raffles Monument, and the famous Raffles Hotel. Raffles has eventually come into his own.

In 1923 the British House of Commons voted eleven million pounds to create an impregnable naval base at Singapore. That ambition is about to be achieved, or at least so far as the expenditure of vast sums of money and military inventiveness can make it possible. We were guests one afternoon of one of the British engineers in charge of the construction of a vast system of barracks on Government Hill, designed to house an enormously increased garrison shortly to be brought from England. The wife of this officer turned to me abruptly with the question, "What do you think, Mr. Robinson, of all these military preparations at Singapore?" After indicating my position as clearly as possible, and finding her, to my surprise and satisfaction, in substantial agreement, I inquired of her against whom these preparations were being directed. Without an instant's hesitation she replied, "The Japanese." There you have the whole story of military activity on an enormous scale which is taking place throughout the entire East.

Let me turn abruptly to another element which overtakes the traveler in the Tropics. It's the slowing down process which comes over one with all the stealth of a bad habit. As you pass through one after another of these tropical countries, one's first impression is that people are unconscionably lazy. Here and there are workers in the rice or tapioca fields, and that's hard work; but for the most part, aside from the rickshaw coolies and the Malay longshoremen with their long red skirts, nobody seems to be worrying about his job.

As a matter of fact, neither of the above explanations will suffice. What has happened is that nature has been very lavish to the Malay, and has provided him with a soil that produces a maximum of food in return for a minimum of grudging labor. He has retired from the fight with nature, has caught the spirit of her surroundings, and is very much what environment and circumstances have combined to make him.

Hugh Clifford, who has written among other things a most engaging book entitled *Malay Monochromes,* rivaling any thriller which I have ever read, says in a very penetrating passage that "Those of us who cry shame upon the people of the tropics for their inertia would do well to ponder these things, and should realize that energy is to the natives of the heat belt at once a disturbing and disgusting quality. It is disturbing because it runs counter to the order of nature which these people have accepted. It is disgusting because it is opposed to every tenet of their philosophy."

I was glad to read this because it provided rationalization for a sort of indolence which for days on end had stood in the way of my writing to the folks back home. Far be it from me to add in the smallest measure to the disturbance which the white man has caused the Oriental, or the disgust in which he is not infrequently held.

Before closing this chapter the story would be quite inadequate without at least a passing mention of what in many respects has been thus far the brightest spot in the journey. I mean Bali. I wrote a few paragraphs about Bali in connection with an Easter greeting which was sent to a few friends in America. But it's not fair to dispose of Bali in such cavalier fashion, because, after all, it really is different. Some of the ways in which Bali is different are that Bali has no wharves, no mills or factories, no labor-saving machinery aside from a few automobiles, no white people aside from a few Dutch officials, no missionaries, and no beggars. All the other countries we have visited have one or more of these Balinese omissions, and some have them all.

For the welcome omission of the beggars, visitors have the Dutch to thank. When you land on the island one of the first bits of literature placed in your hands contains the following appeal: "Please assist us in keeping Bali free from beggars." I imagine this is directed largely to Americans, since our people constitute the overwhelming majority of visitors. The Dutch have owned the island for a good many years, and have directed its affairs with wisdom and restraint, permitting these kindly primitive people to go and come as they have done for countless centuries. The Dutch themselves admit that many a Hollander who has lived in the East Indies for years has never visited the island. Perhaps he wouldn't enjoy it. If so, that's his hard luck. As a matter of fact, the Dutchman takes himself with frightful seriousness when he comes in contact with other foreigners among these tropical islands.

We reached Boeleling on New Year's Day. The Balinese have two new year's celebrations annually. Their calendar is divided differently from ours. This makes the third New Year's celebration we have taken part in since we left home. One a month. This particular New Year Festival in Bali has, in common with all festivals, peculiar religious significance. As we drove through the villages, the wayside shrines everywhere were decorated with offerings of fruits, flowers and vegetables. We passed countless women, some singly, others in groups, on their way to the temples, with enormous baskets piled high upon their heads with a great variety of gifts arranged in the most symmetrical fashion. Over the road through every village were arches of bamboo trimmed with palm leaves cut into symmetrical design. The Festival, that is the religious spirit, was in the air. It permeated everything, and we never felt any diminution of it during the entire period of our visit.

Just as when you witness some gorgeous spectacle on the stage certain flashes burn themselves into your memory after the curtain has rung down, so it is with Bali. Brown bodies, slender, beautiful, erect; brown breasts, and brown children against a background of the pink or white crumbling walls of their villages and the brown huts which form

the center of their family and communal life. Pigs and goats and chickens, the brilliant colors of an infinite variety of tropical flowers, rice paddies and terraces everywhere, water buffaloes; everything finding its place in this magic picture against the green background of banana trees and palms.

One day the *Empress of Britain* anchored off shore, and several hundred world cruisers descended upon the island. After they had gone a young man from Santa Fe, New Mexico, said to me, "Bali's spoiled." Well, it wasn't quite so bad as that; and the morals of the Balinese aren't going to be permanently corrupted by one or two such annual visits by cruisers for a long time. I think it's not Bali that is spoiled, but this same young man, who was complaining about his hotel and his guide. There are only two of the latter on the island who are at all competent. We were fortunate enough to get one of them, and our friends the Tubbys the other. But even if we hadn't, I do not think the island would thereby have been spoiled for us. It's a funny commentary on ourselves, isn't it, when Westerners go among primitive people and complain that they have been spoiled.

What I mean when I say that I think Bali is still unspoiled is that you can still go into the homes of the people and see them at work and play, while they pay no attention to you unless you wish it, nor modify their accustomed ways of doing things. Driving through some tiny village you hear the sound of the Gamelong—I call it the Balinese Philharmonic-Symphony Society—and you know that there's a dance, probably of the Legong, in the offing. There's nothing staged about that. Here is the rice culture—rice fields everywhere—just as it has been carried on time out of mind; at least ever since there were water buffalo to wallow in the mud. Here are religion and life so intimately connected that none but a Balinese can tell where one leaves off and the other begins, if indeed they do. Here are the teeth-filing ceremony and the cock fight, both of which we saw by the merest chance; and both distinctly religious ceremonies. Here are evidences of communal life and labor, both in the rice fields and in the leisure of village assemblage. You can't tell me that a place where it is possible to see all these evidences of a genuine primitive society is spoiled. I'm the spoiled one. I'm spoiled for any other place except Bali when I want to find people who live happy lives in complete independence and innocence of the world in which I live.

I must admit that we had a bit of rather good luck. We had read very carefully and brought along with us, Powell's book, *The Last Paradise*. Now, Powell and Andree Roosevelt lived on the island for a good many years, and, so far as white men may, became assimilated into the mental reactions of the people. In my blundering and self-assuring fashion I ventured to exploit my acquaintance with Mr. Roosevelt, and it worked. The people on the island apparently liked him a lot. He became genuinely friendly with them. That must have been the case. A white man couldn't live even a short time with these people without enjoying their confidence. They all wanted to know when I had last seen Mr. Roosevelt and why they hadn't heard from him. Apparently he's a poor correspondent. In any event, doors began to open for us, and the rest of that day we spent in going about from one Compound and house to another, visiting some of the many friends whom Mr. Powell mentions in his book. Up to that moment they had been merely characters in a book, naked people whose pictures we had seen, never suspecting that the paths of our lives would cross. Now here they were, and here were we.

If there are any of our friends at home who would be interested to have a word about Roosevelt's and Powell's friends I may report concerning a few of them as follows: We found Made at the Temple of Justice in Kloengkoeng. She has become contaminated to the extent of being engaged in the sale of curios, and not especially good ones at that. I was sorry to let her down by not making any purchases, but she didn't seem to hold it against me. Six years later her vivacity is undiminished. Made's daughter, who frequently appears in *The Last Paradise,* has recently become the third wife of the head man of Kloengkoeng. All three wives of course are living, and she told me that her husband paid one hundred guilders for her. She seems very happy. If you were enchanted, as we were, by the picture of Nioman, and saw the quiet loveliness of character which we thought the picture conveyed, you will be sorry to learn that she is dead. Temporarily she is buried in the village cemetery, until such time as cremation is possible.

Ida Bagu Gideh and Saiu have been married. It will be remembered that Powell turned his imagination in the direction of a match for this couple, and it has worked. Gideh is the one Brahmin in the village, and Saiu herself of noble birth. When I first saw her she was dressing some of the younger girls for a dance which they were to perform that morning. The quietness of her manner, the poise and intelligence of the woman captivated us at once; and, when later with perfect freedom from self-consciousness she consented to permit me to take pictures of her, Mrs. Robinson and I agreed that we seldom in all our experience had seen a finer type of womanhood. Renig was a little girl just beginning to dance when Powell wrote of her. Now she is very skilful and we saw her take the part of the Prince in the Legong, which she does with rare charm; though how those children stand it to dance by the hour under the pitiless tropical sun, their bodies bound by roll upon roll of heavy costuming, is more than a white person can understand. She is sixteen years old now and in a year or so must step aside for another feminine prince who will take her place in the village troupe. For several years Roosevelt lived in the house of Kumis. He's a sort of Patriarch of the village, but that his youthful vanity remains undiminished is indicated by the fact that just before I took his picture he picked a couple of frangapani blossoms from a nearby shrub, placing them just above his ears so that the adornment should be plainly visible.

If this account of personalities involving our friends in Bali seems to some of my readers like the unjustified publication of a letter from home I may say that it is intended to convey our delight in two directions. First, in the tidy package of mail which awaited us in Penang, containing just such homely messages from our own kind at home, so far away; and, second, that Bali remains unspoiled for us so long as the happy memories of this enchanted island shall remain. And so to India!

The Study Table

The State

OUR ENEMY, THE STATE. *By Albert J. Nock. New York: William Morrow & Co. $2.25.*

There is much confusion of thought regarding the origin of the State even among reputed scholars of politics who are advocates of social contract theory and therefore consider that the State came into existence to serve society with its consent. From this conception arises the "idea of supremacy of State over Society and individual," as advocated by many political philosophers. Mr. Albert Jay Nock, in his stimulating work, *Our Enemy, the State,* tries to establish that the State is the real enemy of Society and that

"the State did not originate in the common understanding and agreement of society; it originated in conquest and confiscation. Its intention, far from contemplating *freedom and security,* contemplated nothing of the kind. It contemplated primarily the continuous economic exploitation of one class by another, and it concerned itself with only so much freedom and security as was consistent with the primary intention; and this was, in fact, very little." (p. 37.)

In this report Mr. Nock emphasizes the idea expressed by Max Nordeau in his *Interpretation of History,* Oppenheim in his *The State,* as well as Herbert Spencer in his essay on *Man Versus the State.* Mr. Nock takes issue with Professor Laski and makes the following interesting criticism:

"Professor Laski's elaborate moral distinction between the State and officialdom is devoid of foundation. The State is not, as he would have it, a social institution administered in an anti-social way. It is an anti-social institution, administered in the only way an anti-social institution can be administered, and by the kind of person who, in the nature of things, is best adapted to such service." (p. 183.)

The real merit of this work lies in the emphasis placed by Mr. Nock on the fact that in the evolution of a powerful State, it usurps *social power* and ultimately develops into some form of *Totalitarian State,* such as Bolshevism, Fascism or Naziism.

"Hitler says that 'the State Dominates the nation because it alone represents it.' He is only putting into loose popular language the formula of Hegel, that 'the State is general substance, whereof individuals are but accidents.' Or, again, when Mussolini says 'Everything for the State; nothing outside the State; nothing against the State', he is merely vulgarizing the doctrine of Fichte, that 'the State is the superior power, ultimate and beyond appeal, absolutely independent' . . . The superficial distinctions of Fascism, Bolshevism, Hitlerism, are the concern of journalists and publicists; the serious student sees in them only the one root-idea of a complete conversion of social power into State power." (pp. 21-22.)

Mr. Nock very clearly shows that in the evolution of the State—absolute monarchy based on the idea of divine right; feudal state based upon the power of an oligarchy of landed-barons; the merchant-state (which, by the way is, the foundation of the American republic) based upon the idea of making profit from every trade in land, commodities (slave trade included)—the fundamental idea of the State usurping authority from society continues.

Those who are opposed to the collectivist trend of the American State will find a very clear interpretation of the true nature of American revolution and American society, where property rights receive greater recognition than human rights. America is moving toward a collective State because the attitude of the people in general is in favor of delegating greater authority to the State; thus, this trend cannot be checked until such time as reaction begins and popular opposition to the State takes the place of the existing popular support. It means that eventually there will be another revolution in the United States. The author is not an advocate of revolution, but he visualizes its inevitability in course of time.

"The course of all civilizations was the same. Conquest, confiscation, the erection of the State; then the sequences which we have traced in the course of our own civilization; then the shock of some irruption which the social structure was far too weak to resist, and from which it was left too disorganized to recover; and then the end. . . . What we and our more nearly immediate descendants shall see is a steady progress in collectivism running off into a military despotism of a severe type. Closer centralization; a steadily growing bureaucracy; State power and faith in State power increasing, social power and faith in social power diminishing; the State absorbing a continually larger proportion of the national income; production languishing, the State in consequence taking over one *essential industry* after another, managing them with ever-increasing corruption, inefficiency and prodigality, and finally resorting to a system of forced labor. Then at some point in this progress, a collision of State interests, at least as general and as violent as that which occurred in 1914, will result in an industrial and financial dislocation too severe for the asthenic social structure to bear; and from this the State will be left to 'the rusty death of machinery', and the casual anonymous forces of dissolution will be supreme." (pp. 204-206.)

This book should be studied by all students of political science.

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THE NEW GERMANY: NATIONAL SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. *By Fritz Ermath. 203 pp. Washington, D. C.: Digest Press; American University Graduate School. $2.00.*

On June 18, during the historic debates on foreign affairs in the British Parliament when the British Government announced its intention of giving up sanctions against Italy, Mr. Baldwin, speaking very seriously about the existing state of international tension in Europe, said:

"The part Germany can play for good or evil in Europe is immense!"

But no one can understand the tremendous importance of Germany's actions unless he possesses an accurate knowledge of the National Socialist State in Germany. In his recent study, *The New Germany: National Socialist Government in Theory and Practice,* Dr. Fritz Ermath makes a real contribution to the subject. It is an objective study of the forces which have brought about the overthrow of the Wiemar Constitution and the German Republic, the disintegration of German Democracy, and its replacement by the rise of a Totalitarian State.

The general thesis of Dr. Ermath's study is that National Socialism was inevitable in Germany and that the unjust Treaty of Versailles was one of its causes. From the standpoint of the evolution of the state, the author contends that the Totalitarian State in Germany was the natural consequence of Capitalism; the Democratic Government, which was weak and did not receive the full support of the people, was unable to put down the powerful political parties which used their Constitutional rights of freedom of speech, right of assembly and armed organizations, to undermine the State.

The radicals of the "Right" and the "Left" combined to destroy a weak State, against which the nation had political and economic grievances. This overthrow of a Democratic State might have resulted in some

form of Dictatorship; Dictatorship of the Working Class, Dictatorship of the Capitalistic Group, or the Dictatorship of those who enjoyed the confidence of the vast majority of the Middle Class.

Overthrow of the Wiemar Republic was eagerly sought by the Junkers and the Ruhr industrialists; however, they did not have popular mass support, and therefore used Hitler who enjoyed the confidence of the masses, and especially of the Middle Class, which was demanding some form of socialistic measure on a nationalist (not an international) basis—(p. 25). When Herr Hitler convinced the capitalist leaders of Germany that he was opposed to an economic democracy which amounted to a form of Bolshevism, they agreed to extend support to his movement and this helped him to secure control of the Government. However, one must not think that the National Socialist Party, which is now equivalent to the National Socialist State, is merely a tool in the hands of the capitalists.

In his critical analysis of the Totalitarian State's Constitutional structure, Dr. Ermath establishes the fact that the *State controls the individual in all spheres of activity*. The individual has no right to that which may stand in the way of the ideal and goal of the State.

"German life in all its aspects is incorporated into the giant structure of the Totalitarian State; German life in all its ramifications is imbued with the National Socialist doctrine. From earliest childhood the bodies and minds of the young are trained for the task of the political soldiers awaiting them. Not until death comes is a man released from his duties toward the State." (pp. 74-75.)

In a Totalitarian State an individual has no liberty; it is his duty to serve the State at its dictation and the army is the main support of the State's power.

From the standpoint of political theory, the ideal behind the National Socialistic State, which emphasizes the "leader principle," is the medieval Catholic philosophy of the organization of the State, and the Fascist idea of the cooperative State, as evolved by Italian Fascism.

"The creation of a co-operative, or guild, Parliament on an occupational basis, as a legislative body or advisory council to the political leader, figures prominently in all proposals for a co-operative state." (p. 84.)

In the chapter, "The Economic State," the author devotes about a hundred pages to a discussion of the various phases of state control over agriculture, finance, and industry, and comes to a most interesting conclusion:

"National Socialist economic policies are not only devices to maintain the status quo with regard to economic relations and ownership of the means of production, National Socialist economic planning has other goals. Its supreme objective is one of a political character; to strengthen Germany and her national defense has been the dominating factor in German public life ever since the National Socialists came to power. . . . (p. 171.)

The Totalitarian State must maintain its power and expand, and it may have to mass its power in a future war.

"To an even greater extent than the war of 1914-1918, the coming totalitarian war will be an economic war. The country with the largest resources and the most efficient economic organization has the greatest chance of victory. Germany is a country with but few natural resources; the memories of the blockade are still fresh in the minds of many Germans. The hopes for a better and more just Europe, which many millions of Germans nurtured in 1919, were destroyed by the politics and interests of those groups in other nations that did not want disarmament. That their own military and economic strength is the safest basis for security, became again the conviction of the German masses. The Totalitarian State in peace time is a preparation for the totalitarian war. Economic planning in the Totalitarian State is an effort toward economic preparedness in time of war." (p. 173.)

What is the future of new Germany?

"Two roads lie ahead; the one leading to social reorganization and redistribution of wealth, the other toward economic and political expansion." (p. 183.) "Germany is one of the 'have-nots' under the present world order. . . . If the other European capitalist powers refuse to grant an expanding Germany her place in the sun, the Totalitarian State may transform itself into a gigantic war-mechanism. . . . (p. 184.)

One must admit that Germany's defeat in the World War, and the economic distress of the dispossessed masses and the Middle Class, were the most important causes of the rise of the Totalitarian State in Germany. Should another great war break out in Europe and Germany be involved in it, upon the outcome of the struggle depends the future of the National Socialist State, which is very likely to be swept away in case of defeat. So far as the knowledge of the reviewer goes this work of Dr. Ermath is by far the best and possibly the only authoritative work in English on the subject. It has an excellent and exhaustive bibliography and should be extremely helpful to those who wish to make a serious study of the subject.

TARAKNATH DAS.

Franklin—Typical American

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Representative Selections. *By Frank Luther Mott and Chester E. Jorgenson. New York: American Book Company. $1.00.*

The Franklin cult is growing by leaps and bounds. The "selected bibliography" in this book of selections fills thirty-eight closely printed pages. Franklin stands for everything American. His life of eighty-four years was filled with activity from beginning to end. He was a man of action, man of letters, diplomat, scientist, religious explorer, publisher, inventor, business man, founder of libraries and schools, and politician. Largely self taught, he received honorary degrees from Oxford, Yale, and Harvard. His autobiography will live forever as an example of the best America produced in the eighteenth century.

The present work is one in the American Writers Series edited by the distinguished Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Harry Hayden Clark. The editors, Mott and Jorgenson, have produced a much needed book to supplement the large number of interpretations and biographies of Franklin. After a very able introduction which discusses in detail every phase of Franklin's active life, the book is made up of selections from Franklin's writings, running into 527 pages. The introduction is probably the most important critical appraisal, in such a brief outline, in print. Everybody who would know the eighteenth century would do well to read this book, for Franklin's prodigious activity and his life represent the eighteenth century.

CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY.

Correspondence

Truancy Mitigated

Editor of UNITY:

Young idealism and clear thinking have at least one champion on the Board of Education. Recent papers report that Dr. Alberto C. Bonaschi refused to deliver a commencement address at the James Monroe High School, because pacifist students were being denied their diplomas for their participation in the Anti-War Strike held on April 22. Dr. Bonaschi's statement explaining his refusal should be made compulsory reading for all who denounce as misguided and vicious the peace activities of student groups. Defending the students Dr. Bonaschi said:

"Certainly, their action has a superior social justification to that normally creditable to truancy, and the most heinous crime with which these sincere and idealistic students can be credited seemed to me to be truancy. What appears to you to be the aggravating cause is to me the mitigating circumstance."

None of Dr. Bonaschi's colleagues has joined him in defending the students' rights to follow the dictates of conscience. They have been content with the niceties of Superintendent Campbell's subtle prescription of peace education minus pacifism. Dr. Bonaschi's courageous stand is the more splendid for its isolation.

The grown-up generation which lapped up the idea of a "war to end all war" also stands by, content with the bonus sop, and lets the youngsters take the rap for insisting on payment in the real thing, a warless world. The future historian might easily paraphrase a famous episode in our early history and tell the gallant story of America's "embattled high school pacifists."

The way of the dissenter has never been easy. It is sadly ironic, however, that a nation founded by dissenters should itself denounce its traditions and deal so harshly with the spiritual descendants of its founders. Perhaps it is just as well that young Americans with backbones and minds of their own experience this treatment at an early age. Essentially, there is not much difference between the loss of a high school diploma now, or the disruption a little later of a promising career and normal, happy living when the question to obey or resist the call to mass murder is posed.

This is no doubt a bitter apprenticeship for an apparently bitter and hopeless future. But it need not be hopeless if from the ranks of these Twentieth Century Dissenters there can and must be forthcoming the Founding Fathers and Mothers of a really democratic and non-military Federation of Nations.

I wonder whether this handful of "embattled high school pacifists" has not issued the call to be heard and answered by the world!

EDITH WYNNER.

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The Field

(*Continued from page* 182)

another sort. We observe, for example, a sinister intolerance which brands as communistic even those constructive proposals for orderly social progress which are the best defense against Communism. Suspicion is engendered against thoughtful and patriotic citizens who oppose the present hysteria for military preparedness, or stand for the right of labor to organize for better standards of living. Even the churches are labeled as "subversive" for pointing out economic injustices and evils, which can be corrected within our present system if there is the will to do so, and for emphasizing the necessity of bringing Christ's spirit and teaching more fully to bear upon our industrial and international life. Gag laws which are unworthy of a free people are being introduced into Congress and have been passed by several state legislatures. Teachers are compelled to take oaths which degrade their professional standing and are contrary to the free spirit of our educational institutions. Lynching is still rampant. Groups of vigilantes take the law into their hands and perpetrate brutal outrages such as that which recently disgraced the city of Tampa. There are even signs of a whispering anti-Semitic agitation such as, unrestrained, has left an indelible stain upon the German government.

The direction in which these happenings are tending is brought out in the shocking revelations of the operations of the Black Legion in Michigan. These disclose the extreme of cruelty and social danger to which a red-baiting, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic organization easily goes. Its use of the name of God Almighty in its oath is blasphemous and its description of itself as Protestant is unjustifiable and shameful.

We appeal to Christian people throughout the nation to exercise the utmost vigor in opposing such tendencies as these, which are sowing fears, hatred and dissensions at a time of great social emergency and danger, when our people should be able to think soberly and to act unitedly.

Education vs. Intimidation

Prof. Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard historian, once thought there were some schoolteachers at least whom the teachers' oath laws could not affect. Those in the physics department, for example, or in other nonpolitical fields. But now he has revealed himself a somewhat wiser man.

A friend, he informed the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, teaches physics in the Boston schools. Recently he devoted his period to a discussion of the eclipse that has since then occurred. At the end of the class a pupil raised his hand. "Where can we go to see the eclipse?" It was on the tip of the teacher's tongue to say: Russia. But suppose a boy in the class was the son of a member of certain patriotic societies? Or of a certain type of politician? It might get around that Mr. So-and-so was advising his students—yes, actually urging them—to visit the source of American sedition on the subtle pretext of looking at an eclipse! The climax of the story may seem preposterous to some. The teacher thought better of using the word "Russia," and dismissed the class.

It might be said that so timorous a public servant deserves scorn rather than sympathy. But not by one who understands how intimidation works. This teacher was not so much a coward as a realist. Like other teachers, he no doubt has seen his words time and again misquoted by pupils. Visits from irate parents and complaints to the principal which can be traced to some twisted remark are common occurrences.

Hence the extreme caution, which is less likely to be the exception than the rule, under a regime of open or disguised red-baiting. Teachers as a group recognize only too well that a distorted statement, however innocently inspired, can make all sorts of trouble for them. This is the working of intimidation. And in Massachusetts, at least, the testimony of the teachers' oath advocates leaves no doubt that their object is to suppress what they define as sedition, not merely to put an innocuous oath on the lawbooks.

A teacher has no alternative to the most extreme caution. And if such discretion caused a teacher of physics to avoid all appearance of advising pupils to visit Russia, what warping of free education must there not be in the classes on government and sociology?

Teaching which elaborately ignores Communism and Fascism, which shies away from a candid appraisal of the various competing forms of government, is especially perilous in this era of rapid change. Ignorance is the most fertile breeding ground for alarm. So it is that teachers' oath laws tend toward an uneasy, suspicious public, the more easily stampeded into panic by political opportunists. It is not the better part of patriotism to render its people so vulnerable to bogies.

—*The Christian Science Monitor.*

The Motion Picture Industry and the Public Interests*

The clean-up of films which followed upon the decency movement and the organization of the Production Code Administration under the supervision of Joseph I. Breen, has been continued now for nearly two years. Mr. Breen and his associates have done a sincere job. Since July 15, 1934, when the Production Code Administration went into effect, pictures coming from MPPDA studios have been not only clean relative to previous production, but on the whole more significant.

Much of the output of the studios is, however, still distinctly low grade. Drinking scenes are so overdone as to be in effect an education of youth to drinking. The ideals of life in most pictures lack depth, integrity and sincerity, and are destructive in their effect upon American ideals. A false picturing is given of the love and ethics of true marriage. There is a subtle and often open ballyhoo for race track and other forms of gambling, which is supporting in fact when not in purpose the present high-powered commercial promotion of gambling and lotteries. In the neighborhood theaters Bank Nights and other like ways of stimulating attendance at theaters not only feed the craze for gambling, but tend to the use of cheap feature pictures instead of the more desirable pictures, which lowers production standards.

There is a disquieting trend in many films in trailers and in exhibitor publicity to go as far as possible in suggestiveness. As many as nineteen feature pictures during the last four years have been classified as pro-war, and this at a time when the churches of all nations are doing their utmost to educate the world away from war. Nine feature pictures have been considered anti-labor in their effect. The newsreels, while increasing in interest and value, may be justly charged with propaganda for war and armaments. They go beyond legitimate picturing of news to glorify the army and navy.

It is recognized even by experienced officials within the industry that producers of motion pictures cannot be trusted either to observe their own Production Code of Ethics or to give to the public consistently artistic and worthwhile pictures, except under the pressure of public opinion and development of the habit of selection by the motion picture audience.

The Federal Council's Committee on Motion Pictures therefore recommends:

1. That continued pressure be exerted upon producers and exhibitors for the production of clean and more noteworthy pictures.
2. That the entire public exercise great care in the selection of pictures, especially of those for the family.
3. That support be given to the better films and denied to all others.
4. That every effort be made to organize better film groups, wholly independent of the industry, in every community.
5. That the public urge the showing of the more desirable foreign films in the regular theatres, and the booking of the more exceptional American pictures in small communities and in neighborhood theatres.
6. That the daily and weekly papers carry more critical reviews of current films, especially in the form of concise film estimates, giving particular attention to the social and moral values of pictures as well as to their dramatic and artistic merits.

*Statement to the Churches by the Federal Council's Committee on Motion Pictures.

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